The People's Korea

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Mr. Kim Jong Il Gives Working Guidance

Mr. Kim Jong Il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, on July 5 gave working guidance on the plan to the reconstruction on an expansion basis of the Revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery on Mt. Taesong and the reconstruction of the Liberation Obelisk which are in the final stage.

He was accompanied by So Yun Sok, member of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee, Chief Secretary of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee and Chairman of the Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee, Kang Sok Sung, member of the WPK Central Committee and Director of the Party History Institute of the Party Central Committee, Li Chan Son, member of the WPK Central Committee and First Vice-Director of a department of the Party Central Committee, and other personages concerned.

Mr. Kim Jong Il gave working guidance first to the reconstruction on an expansion basis of the Revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery on Mt. Taesong.

While going round various places from the gate of the entrance to the cemetery to the ground of groups of sculptures, ground of education, section of busts, etc., he expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Martyrs' Cemetery has been well reconstructed on an expansion basis to be more significant and grandiose not only in its scale and form but also in its content.

Noting that it was very good to have given a depiction of a red flag vigorously fluttering on the uppermost background in the formation of the revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery, he said this has rendered the cemetery more sublime and solemn.

Saying that the revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery which has been rebuilt on beautiful Mt. Taesong is a grand monumental edifice of the workers' party age which will be handed down through generations, he highly praised the builders there for having done a lot of work in a brief span of time by dynamically accelerating the expansion project.

Saying that if the cemetery is to be built wonderfully to be a fitting place of education for the party members and working people to learn from the indomitable fighting spirit and fidelity of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, work in detailed parts should be done in conformity with the dignity of the cemetery, he put forward concrete tasks and ways for the final stage of the project.

Then he gave working guidance to the reconstruction of the Liberation Obelisk.

Expressing deep satisfaction with the fact that the builders there have carried out the reconstruction of the Liberation Obelisk well qualitatively in a brief span of time, he highly praised their success in labour.

Mr. Kim who is called "the dear leader" by the Korean people set forth the task to complete the reconstruction of the Liberation Obelisk before the 40th anniversary of the national liberation and indicated concrete ways for this.

Pyongyang Attacks Reagan's Remarks

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Pyongyang wasted no time in criticizing President Reagan's absurd remarks he made at a convention of the American Bar Association on July 8. Reagan said five nations – Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua – "are now engaged in acts of war" against the United States.

Rodong Sinmun on July 10 criticized his remarks as "an absurd sophism reversing black and white and distorting the reality."

Here is a summary of the Rodong Sinmun commentary:

The recent assertion of Reagan revealed a sinister design to start a brigandish armed invasion of our country and other countries, labelling them as "terrorists". This, in fact, is a tacit declaration of a war against them.

This notwithstanding, Reagan shamelessly called our country and some other new emerging states "terrorist states" and the like. This reminds one of a thief calling others thief.

It was not without reason that Reagan made a Jargon this time. Since his assumption of office, Washington has committed numerous crimes in various parts of the world to be denounced and rejected in all parts. Under such conditions he tries to bring to their knees small states advancing along the road of independence against imperialism and thereby get rid of hurdles lying in the way of the execution of the U.S. global strategy and boost the U.S. prestige which has fallen to the ground.

The Americans have tried overtly and covertly to liquidate revolutionary countries in Northeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and Central America, regarding them as a thorn in their side. But as this method does not work, they are now resorting to the scheme to start an open armed invasion against other countries, groundlessly labelling them as "terrorists".

In particular, they are sharply intensifying military exercises with the Japanese and south Koreans in and around south Korea in preparation for war against the north.

With his assertion Reagan openly declared that he is going to ignite a war against the north, translating such action into a real war.

U.S. Urged to Have Contacts with DPRK

An Eastern scholar in the United States called on Washington to have people-to-people contacts and cultural, scientific and economic exchanges with Pyongyang as an initial step of understanding the country.

He also said that a visitor who has seen North Korea on a close-up basis may question the total accuracy of the widespread view in the West that "North Korea is aggressive, irrational and ready to invade the south. . . ."

Parris H. Chang, a professor of political science and chairman of Asian Studies at Pennsylvania State University, contributed his comment to Newsweek magazine dated July 8, 1985. He has just completed a trip to the DPRK, China and the Soviet Union.

Here is a summary of his comment:

North Korea is now adopting several measures to encourage foreign investment and to expand trade with the West. North Korea's conciliatory moves include a proposal for a tripartite (North Korea-U.S.-South Korea) talk to seek a permanent Korean peace treaty and to discuss reunification, the delivery of Red Cross relief goods to flood victims and further meetings to spur the inter-Korea dialogue on unification.

Pyongyang is now pursuing a policy that calls for improved economic and technical ties with all nations, including capitalist countries that have no diplomatic ties with North Korea. To justify such an important change, Kim Jong Il is quoted to have said: "Building an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance does not mean building an economy in isolation. An independent economy is opposed to foreign economic domination and subjugation; but it does not rule out international economic cooperation." In September 1984 North Korea's Supreme People's Assembly enacted a joint-venture law to boost foreign investments in "industry, construction, transportation, science and technology, and tourism." The new law stipulates that the property and profits of joint-venture firms would be protected and that a joint company "may export its produces" and "may be exempted from income tax for a certain period from the start of production."

The view that North Korea is aggressive, irrational and ready to invade the south at any time is still widespread in the West. On the other hand, a visitor who has seen North Korea on a close-up basis may question the total accuracy of these images. In the past three decades Kim Il Sung has reconstructed North Korea from the debris of war and built a standard of living comparable to Eastern Europe's. North Koreans are not so irrational that they would casually risk its destruction. And they do have a major stake in the preservation of peace in the Korean Peninsula.

North Korea is not an easy country to deal with. As the initial step of coping with such a problem, the U.S. government should give serious consideration to allowing people-to-people contacts between the United States and North Korea. The time would also be ripe for Americans to open up cultural, scientific and economic exchanges with North Korea.

International Conf. For Korea's Reunification Held in Yokohama

Scholars and intellectuals from 17 countries shared the view that utmost importance should be given to the task of peace and reunification of the Korean Peninsula – not only for the sake of the safety and prosperity of the Korean people but also for the peace and development of Asia and the world.

The International Symposium on the Reunification of Korea and Peace in Asia was held from July 6 to 8 in Yokohama, Japan attended by 131 scholars and intellectuals with a wide variety of positions.

It marked the first time that scholars from so many countries with a deep interest in reunification and peace in Korea carried out a free and frank exchange of views on the subject of Korean reunification and Asian peace.

It was attended by scholars from Australia, Austria, Canada, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Mexico, the Philippines, Switzerland, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as by many Korean scholars resident overseas. The symposium was sponsored by the Asia-Pacific Peace Policy Institute.

The symposium received a message from Edward M. Kennedy appreciating the effort to reduce international tensions in the search for lasting peace.

Speaking at the first-day general

(Continued on page 8, col. 3)

Prominent scholars from 17 countries gathered in Yokohama, Japan to discuss the significance of Korean reunification and its world-wide impact.

EDITORIAL

Congratulations on Success of Yokohama Symposium on Korea's Reunion

It should be highly appreciated that a great success was achieved at the international symposium on the theme of "Korea's Reunion and Peace in Asia" held in Yokohama, one of the largest industrial cities of Japan.

The Korean people and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea wholeheartedly congratulate the sponsors of the symposium on its success and, wish such a symposium to be held in all parts of the world.

They also wish for more strengthened international support for and solidarity with the Korean people's cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

An increased public opinion abroad such as was expressed at the symposium tremendously encourages the Korean nation and the DPRK Government which have been consistently fighting for the cause of national reunification.

It also more strongly assure them of their victory in their sacred cause.

The latest symposium, which is said to be the largest in size of all meeting of the kind, was attended by some 130 scholars and intellectuals from 17 countries, and among whom were Korean residents abroad including those in the United States and Canada.

Substantial discussions were held there matching the current situation.

A number of reports were submitted during the 3-day session, and earnest discussions were held on the basis of the reports.

At the Yokohama international symposium, the attendants agreed on the recognition that the Koean question is not an isolated one peculiar to the limited region of Korea but is one that is directly and inexorably related to peace of Asia and of the world, including Japan and the United States.

That was clearly noted in a statement made public on the last day of the session.

For this reason, analyses and discussions were concentrated on the critical situation of nuclear currently being created on the Korean Peninsula.

Naturally, the symposium attached great significance to the proposed three-way talks between Pyongyang, Washington and Seoul, and also to the north-south parliamentary talks as a concrete task to avert danger in Korea.

More important is the fact that the symposium emphasized that even though the efforts had made for Korea's reunion on one hand, the "two Koreas" plot had been continuously hatched by Washington, Tokyo and Seoul.

For a peaceful solution of the Korean question, it is important to stand on the position of mutual respect and to recognize the present reality that there exist two social systems, ideologies and ideals apparently in the north and the south of Korea.

It is gratifying that the correctness of the policy, followed by the DPRK of realizing the national reunification and neutralization of the Korean Peninsula on the basis of a confederal system was actively supported at the symposium.

The attendants at the symposium agreed that it is particularly important now to fight for nuclear-free, peace zone.

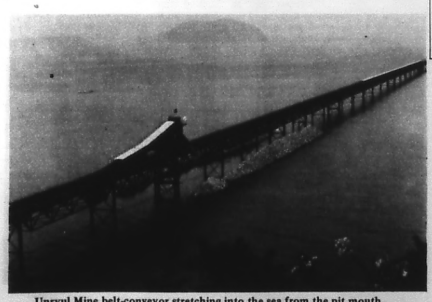
Because, they said, this is closely related to the fact that the nuclear armament race being stepped up by the Reagan administration is likely to be transferred from Europe to the Asia-Pacific region.

That indication came from the recognition that the peaceful settlement of the Korean question is directly related to the establishment of a nuclear-free, peace zone in Asia which is becoming a focal issue as the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul 3-way military alliance is being further accelarated.

A concrete accord was also reached fully at the Yokohama symposium after sincere discussions were held on the analysis of the domestic and internatinal situations regarding the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue and on the way to its realistic solution.

We are fully convinced on this occasion that international support for the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful solution of the Korean issue will be further strengthened and will immensely contribute to peace and security in Asia and the world.

Unryul Mine Belt-Conveyor



Unryul Mine belt-conveyor stretching into the sea from the pit mouth.

The large-size long-distance belt-conveyor line of the Unryul Mine laid in Kumsaning, South Hwanghae Province, on the West Coast of Korea is paying off profusely.

This conveyor line was built in June 1975 under the wise guidance of Mr. Kim Jong Il in accordance with his far-reaching plan.

Stretching over 8 kilometres into the sea from the pit mouth, it is automated and remote-controlled.

Its daily carriage capacity is more than 2,000 heavy-duty truckloads.

During the last decade, it has carried tens of millions of tons of scraped earth into the sea.

With the massive movement of scraped earth, the depth of the youth pit of the Unryul Mine has increased by more than 130 metres and the pit area has trebled.

This facilitates the supply of an increased amount of ore to the Hwanghae Iron Complex, a mighty iron-production base of the country.

And the wholesale movement of scraped earth has linked two islands to the shore and brought into being a breakwater 160 metres wide in a 6 kilometre section. Now the third island is being linked. It will not be long before it is connected with the shore.

When the projects around the place is completed, more than 3,500 hectares of new land will be brought under plough.

A number of long-distance belt conveyors have been laid in recent years at such ore and coal mines as the Komdok, Anju, Musan and Chonsong.

It Is U.S. that Uses Terrorism

By Li Gyo Sun
Special to The People's Korea

President Reagan July 7 in a tough speech at the annual convention of the American Bar Association branded the DPRK, together with other 4 states – Iran, Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua – as part of a "confederation of terrorist states".

His abusive remarks surprised conscientious people of the world and aroused their anger. It is nothing but a brazen and unscrupulous remark.

Reagan's tough speech well reflects his terror and uneasiness about those newly rising sovereign states and the Third World nations which are daily increasing their power as anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. forces, while the U.S., once called "the gendarme" of the world is losing its power.

Can the U.S. really use such tough language?

The answer is very clear if only one looks back on the past 40 years before and after World War II.

Frankly speaking, the U.S. is the very typical "terrorist state" that has been engaged in assassinations of leading figures in the world, subversive activities against governments, while provoking war on a world-wide scale.

There is none in the world who doesn't know the fact that the CIA has been persistently attempting to assassinate Cuba's Premier Castro, Colonel Cadafy of Libya, and high ranking officials of Nicaragua.

Moreover, the U.S. has murdered even their loyal subordinates or puppets if they became useless or were in discord with it.

Ngo Ding Diem of Saigon and the late south Korean dictator Pak Jung Hi met a miserable end like other heads of puppet juntas.

Furthermore, Americans have openly intervened in the domestic affairs of other countries, and have been engaged in subversive activities against them by manipulating their puppets behind the scene.

Among their victims are the Allende Government of Chile, Musaddeg of Iran and the Guatemalan Government.

The Americans regard Central and South America only as a part of the "American Continent", and even now are repeating tenacious military interferences in Nicaragua.

It is still vivid in our memory that the government of Grenada was overthrown by intrigues masterminded by the government of President Reagan.

In south Korea alone, the CIA overthrew the Chang Myon "government" by maneuvering the May 16 coup d'etat by Pak Jung Hi and again helped Chon Du Hwan seize power.

The U.S. atrocities committed in Sinchon during the Korean War and the Chulai Village incident in the Vietnam War remind us of the recent Kwangju Massacre which was only possible with the tacit approval of the Americans.

The most unforgivable and the greatest sin and crime of the U.S. is that they are preparing for new world war by stepping up its nuclear arms buildup.

Thus, the U.S. deploys 100,000 military personnel with its full nuclear armament on the 5 continents and the Pacific region.

The Americans who have gained strength through terrorism, massacre, war and plunder, dream again a dream of "conquering the world", but in fact they are no longer so strong now.

10,000-ton Press in the Making At Ryongsong Machine Building Complex

The building of a 10,000-ton press is going on at fast pace at the Ryongsong Machine Building Complex, one of the mighty production bases of sets of plant in Korea.

Giving a working guidance to the complex in May last year, Mr. Kim Jong Il assigned the workers there the task to manufacture a 10,000-ton press.

The complex set itself the goal of carrying out the designing, manufacture and test-operation of the press in a little more than one year. It completed the vast amount of designing in three months or more.

Now the manufacture of the press has entered the stage of full-scale processing and assembling. The processing of the pillars has made a successful progress and that of the cylinders, beams and other major large parts is going on as scheduled. The processing of accessories has entered the finishing stage.

The 10,000-ton press can freely forge a 250-ton mass of steel at a time. Its accessories number more than 13,000.

The workers of Ryongsong manufactured a 3,000-ton press already in the early 1960s and a 6,000-ton press towards the end of the 1960s.

40 Years since Liberation

Development of Independent Diplomacy (5)

Korea-France Relations Develop Rapidly

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea respects the sovereignty of all nations which are amicable to Korea and is developing friendly relations with them on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, paying principal attention to the development of friendly relations with socialist countries and non-aligned countries.

Of the relations between the DPRK and capitalist countries on which attention is focused today, these with France are rapidly progressing.

Speaking only of the developments from last September, first of all, Kim Hyong Ryul, trade representative of the DPRK in Paris, paid a farewell call on President Francois Mitterrand on Sep. 21. President Mitterrand referred to the development of friendly relations between France and Korea.

After that, a cultural delegation of the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of France visited Korea on Oct. 5 and signed an agreement on cultural exchange with the DPRK. Moreover, on Dec. 11, the DPRK Government established a general mission in Paris through mutual agreement. The members of the general mission and their families enjoy the same privileges as members of diplomatic corps do. We may say that this meant the virtual establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and France.

This has had a great influence on the development of friendly and cooperative relations with West European countries including West Germany, and has dealt a great blow at the south Korean authorities.

On Feb. 26, this year a ceremony to start construction of the 46-story Yanggak Islet International Hotel by Korea-France joint venture was held. Since the Joint Venture Law of the DPRK was made public on Sep. 8 last year, it is said, France has been enthusiastic about establishing a joint-venture company with Korea in civil aviation and brewing trade.

President Kim Il Sung made clear on May 23, in a meeting with a delegation to Korea of the Japan Socialist Party, "There is a plan to establish a private air route with Democratic Germany and Yugoslavia, besides one with France."

It is said that a company in Italy is showing interest in a joint venture with the DPRK.

First U.S. Visit of Foreign Minister in 7 Years

The DPRK is ready to improve relations with the U.S., if U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea and if it doesn't block the reunification of Korea.

Korea proposed tripartite talks among north Korea, U.S. and south Korea on Jan. 10 last year. But up to now no official reply from America has been made.

What attracted attention regarding relations with the U.S. is the fact that Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Kim Yong Nam stayed in America about for a month from mid-September to mid-October last year.

A Korean foreign minister of Korea made a U.S. visit for the first time in 7 years since the then Foreign Minister Ho Dam visited there in 1977.

Foreign Minister Kim gave a party on Oct. 8 at the UN headquarters.

Present there were scholars, intellectuals, journalists and Korean compatriots in the U.S., including the foreign ministers of various countries, totaling more than 400.

He had an exclusive interview with the New Korea Times (a newspaper published by Koreans in Canada) on Oct. 6 and talked about the background to and the developments about the three-way talks proposal.

He said: "I have received frequent requests from my friends in America to meet me. I met some of them at the UN headquarters. . . I have often felt signs through various channels on the part of the U.S. side which shows that it is trying to talk with me since I came here. . . I think this is not bad. So, availing myself of this opportunity, I met friends in America actively when they asked me for an interview."

On Sep. 24, last year Ryo Yon Gu, Vice Chaiman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly who attended the 72nd Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva as head of the delegation of the parliamentary group of the DPRK met the head of the U.S. delegation.

Brisk "Korea-Japan" Exchange

Nowadays, Korea-Japan exchanges show a sign of rapid growth. This is particularly so after a delegation of the Japan Socialist Party headed by Chairman Ishibashi Masashi visited Korea.

At that time, the Korean side explained the tripartite talks proposal as well as north-south relations and talks, and stressed that it strongly wished to ease tension and safeguard peace.

Meanwhile, considering Japanese fishermen, the DPRK signed a Korean-Japanese private fishery agreement. Japanese newspapers appraised this, saying, "The north Korean side shows a flexible and realistic attitude to foreign countries." (Yomiuri Shimbun, a Japanese newspaper, Sep. 22)

After that, this year, prominent Japanese figures including Dan Ikuma (composer), Oda makoto (writer), Mushanokoji Kinhide (Vice Rector of the University of the United Nations) and Yasue Ryosuke (Editor-in-chief of the "Sekai"), and Takemura Masagi (Governor of Shiga Prefecture in Japan) visited Korea.

From the DPRK side, member of the Olympic Committee of the DPRK, art film producers of the DPRK, soccer and ice hockey players and marathon runners, and various delegations including a delegation of the League of Socialist Working Youth of the DPRK and Korean friendship delegations.

Especially, the delegation of Rodong Sinmun (headed by Editor-in-chief Kim Gi Nam) met the press and the delegation of the Association for Promoting of Korea-Japan Friendship (headed by Chairman Kim U Jong) met Japanese politicians actively. They built up an atmosphere for increased Korea-Japan friendship.

(Concluded)

Swimming Pools under Construction at Schools

The construction of swimming pools is progressing apace at all schools of Korea.

In the last three months alone, over 1,000 swimming pools have been built and the construction of over 900 more has been commenced throughout the country.

Giving on-the-spot guidance to Pyongyang Senior Middle School No. 1 in February, President Kim Il Sung instructed that a swimming pool should be built at every school and indoor and outdoor swimming pools in different places of the country so that all children might swim there all the year round.

Mr. Kim Jong Il indicated the direction and ways to build swimming pools in all places of the country and took concrete measures for this. Upholding the instructions of President Kim Il Sung and the party's intention, schools throughout the country are now building a large number of swimming pools, while readjusting the existing ones.

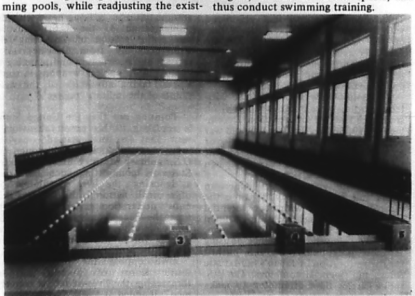
South Pyongan Province is pushing forward the construction of swimming pools by extensively using local materials. Their construction has already been wound up at almost all schools in the province.

South Hamgyong Province had completed the building of over 190 swimming pools till mid-June and is now building over 170 more pools.

Chagang and North Pyongan provinces are accelerating the construction of indoor swimming pools with the support of industrial establishments and schools which are short of water resources are driving pipes tstgqy.

Swimming is one of the very popular sports among school children and youth from long ago in Korea which is surrounded by seas on three sides.

All schools throughout the country are now hastening the project to build up swimming pools better before July-August, months of marine sports, and thus conduct swimming training.



Swimming pools of Pyongyang Senior Middle School No. 1 (KCNA Radio Photo, in May 1984).

Construction of Taechon Power Station Makes Fast Progress

The construction of the Taechon Power Station, the biggest hydraulic power station in Korea, is progressing with great rapidity.

The project, to which a new method of development of hydraulic resources is applied, cover vast areas of North Pyongan and Chagang provinces in the northwestern region of the country.

The builders have set themselves the goal of completing the construction of its power stations Nos. 1 and 2 and the project of 40 kilometre long waterways of gigantic scale before the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea which falls on October 10 this year. In February last year they drove through a 40 kilometre long water tunnel and have since carried on its expansion project on a full-fledged scale, which is expected to be completed soon.

The constructors of Power Station No. 2 are hastening the last construction project after creating conditions for the assembling of installations.

Power stations Nos 1, 4 and 5 are also taking shape fast and an unprecedented construction speed has been created at the construction sites of the main and auxiliary dams.

A brisk preparatory construction is going on for the acceleration of the construction of power station No. 3.

The full-scale construction of the Taechon Power Station began after the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in October 1981.

When it is completed, the growing demand for power will be met more sufficiently, the water problem for the vast expanse of the tideland upturned in North Pyongan Province be solved and the flood damages be done away with for good and all in this area.

The state plans to complete in a few years this huge project which would take several dozen years at ordinary pace.

A view of the construction site of the Taechon Power Plant under construction in northwest district of Korea. (KCNA Radio Photo, in May 1985)

New Trend in S. Korean Labour Activism

Despite repeated harsh crackdowns, the labour movement continues to expand in south Korea.

The latest wave of south Korean trade activism reached a new, critical level when about 250 workers of the Daewoo Apparel Co. held in down town Seoul a six-day-long hunger strike from June 24 to 29, demanding an immediate release of three leaders of their union who were arrested on June 21 for anti-"government" protests and a demand for abolition of evil labour laws.

The strike was followed by seven sympathy strikes of a total of about 1,600 workers and students and demonstrations in the city and other industrial areas.

A mass-circulation daily Chungang Ilbo on June 25 said, "It is the first time that the workers in south Korea declared and carried out a joint struggle in many years."

In the wake of a group physical exercise at 8 a.m. on June 24 the protesting workers barricaded a factory of the Daewoo Co. located in the Kuro Industrial Complex with sewing and cutting machines.

The strikers produced signs stating their demands and hung them on windows so that they could be seen from the streets. The signs read, "Stop the suppression of trade union", "Revise the evil labour laws", "Release the arrested union members".

Owen Viver, chairman of the U.S. United Auto workers Union, on June 24 charged the south Korean authorities with violating the internationally recognized right of the workers to labour.

During the six-day strike, the protesters sung songs with drums and *quengari* (a Korean traditional instrument) and fired torchs when the company authorities cut off electric supply.

At last on June 29, the sit-in was broken by non-union members who stormed into the compound and pulled out the 100 protesters around 8:30 a.m.

Many protesters were injured when they were attacked with wooden sticks and iron pipes by non-union members, another local daily Kyonghyang Sinmun reported on June 29.

More than 30 protesters, many of them women, were injured when they jumped to the ground from the second floor to escape from the attackers, a third local daily Hankook Ilbo reported on June 30.

The gory crackdown started at 8 a.m. with the non-union employes hurling stones at the sit-in site, leaving about 100 windowpanes broken.

Some 20 Seoul National University students joind the sit-in.

A total of 46 people, including 20 Seoul National University students were taken to the police for their involvement in the sit-in, though the raiding non-union employees were not arrested.

Police decided to seek arrest warrants for over 20 workers and students in connection with the strike, police sources said on July 1.

On the other hand, a sit-in at Boohung Co., a garment maker also located in the Kuro Industrial Complex, which had been launched in sympathy with the Daewoo Apparel strike, was broken by about 50 company employes .

Analysis

Despite the fact that the Daewoo workers' strike was cracked down with force, it suggested a new trend in south Korean labour struggle.

Noticiable is tactical planning and coordination among labour unions.

Since last year, 212 trade unions for democracy were formed across south Korea.

The news of the strike at Daewoo prompted about 400 workers of Hyosung Corporation mere 50 meters away to strike on the second floor of their workshops at 2 p.m. on the same day.

A total of about 1,600 workers of seven firms including the Hyosong Corporation, Karibong Electronic and Sonic Fibre companies on June 24, 25 and 26 staged sit-ins in their respective workshops in support of the Daewoo workers' struggle, shouting slogans, "We support Daewoo workers' struggle", "Stop suppressing trade unions" and "Revise the evil labour laws."

Earlier, the south Korean ministry of labour reported that strikes waged by workers in the five months of this year numbered more than 90, more than two times as against the same period of last year.

On the other hand, workers' activism is now gaining a major boost from civic forces, students and churches.

On June 26, 50 members of 18 civic organisations including the Federation of the Mass Movement for Democracy and Unification, the Chonggye Garment Workers Union and the Council for Workers' Welfare published a statement denouncing the south Korean authorities for its suppression of the labour movement and supporting the sit-in strike of the workers of the Daewoo Apparel. They sat down the office room of the Chonggye Garment Workers Union in Changsin-dong, Chongro district, Seoul, Dong-A Ilbo reported on June 27.

Students also have expressed positive support to the workers.

On June 26, students and discharged workers held over ten street demonstrations in the Kuro industrial zone in demand of the release of the arrested workers of the Daewoo garment company. Police detained 83 students and workers on that day.

The south Korean labour minister on June 3 claimed in the national assembly that college graduates or temporary absentee students managed to get into enterprises and "instigate" workers to labour disputes.

The slogans and demands issued from the Daewoo and other workers give greater importance to political problems.

The workers demanded not only wage hikes or guarantee of three rights of labour but a drastic reform in the social system, such as the resignation of Gen. Chon Du Hwan, labour minister and general public prosecutor, abolition of "the basic press law" and "the law on assembly and demonstration."

These show that the labour movement are growing now as a part of a nationwide democratic movement.

Workers of Seoul's Daewoo Apparel Co. staged a six-day hunger strike from April 24 at its office, hanging on its windows slogans such as "Stop the suppression of trade union", "Revise the evil labour laws" and "Release the arrested union members."

A Moot Point in Japanese Economic Aid to S. Korea (3)

(Continued from the previous issue)

Japanese economic aid and military backing has been more closely interrelated. Of course, it is admitted that Japan's early major concern, after the Tokyo-Seoul ties' normalization, was how to carry out economical inroads into the south Korean market, and official aid proceeded from commercial loans. However, increased Japanese investments in south Korea's military-related areas led to Japan's involvement in Seoul's arms expansion policy beyond general economic inerests. At last, a joint military operational system was established between the Japanese Self-Defence Forces and the south Korean armed forces.

Military backing closely supported with economic assistance has grown since the Tokyo-Seoul relationships were normalized. That process was divided into three stages.

The first stage is from the conclusion of the "basic treaty" to the end of 1960's. (A Japanese daily newspaper Nihon Keizai Shimbun dated June 15, 1960 reported on a Japanese offer of special raw materials for arms production such as molybdenum, vanadium and tungsten. A south Korean newspaper Sanop Kyongjae Sinmun on October 22, 1976 said that Komatsu Ltd., Japanese munitions maker decided to make a technical offer to south Korean machine makers for the purpose of war supplies production. A nationwide vernacular daily paper in south Korea Hankook Ilbo, dated the 16th of February, 1968, reported that one of south Korean war plants received a Japanese loan of $2,590,000 to erect factories in which rigles and other weaponry were to be made.)

Yet, in this stage, financing arms production was not a main conponent of Japanese aid.

It can be said that Japan openly encouraged the south Korean military buildup when south Korea began home production of weapons in 1970's.

The 12th round meeting of the standing committee of the South Korea-Japan Cooperation Association held in Seoul on Jnuary 13, 1975 reached an agreement on enlargement of Japanese investments in the south Korean war industry. In 1973, come what they call "KIDC initiative", in which Japan would cooperate with its counterpart Korea Industrial Development Corp.

Japan would extent its capital, technology and so on to south Korea in order to help its heavy chemistry industry, which had a great formative influence on the growth of local munitions industry.

In this manner, Tokyo has mede a visible role in Seoul's war industry and allied businesses including Pohang Iron & Steel Co., a nonferrous metals plant in Masan and a petrochemical plant in Ryosu.

As the second East-West cold war began on a world-wide scale from the end of 1970' through 1980's, the south Korean military administration spurred its arms buildup, to which Japan gave a security-related loan of $4 billion.

3) Real Intention of the U.S.

Japan was defeated in the Second World War and south Korea was occuped by Americans as "liberators". The U.S. has exercised its dominant influence upon both Tokyo and Seoul.

One of the most serious problems facing American Asian strategy after the Second World War was that those Japan and south Korea did not make a joint contribution to consolidating the U..S.'s hold over the Pacific area because the relations between the former suzerain and colonial countries were not sorted out.

Therefore, re-linking the two through the normalization of their bilateral relations meant laying foundations for American Asian Strategy.

Talks to discuss the normalization of Tokyo-Seoul relations had originated with the chief of the Diplomatic Section of the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers. On his proposition, the U.S. left no stone unturned to bring together Japan and south Korea at an unprecedentedly hurried tempo.

It implied how important the bilateral relations were in terms of American strategy. (The UPI services dated December 17, 1956 said "Ending the cold war between Japan and the Republic of Korea will be a major goal of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's peace campaign in his final year in office.")

From the viewpoint of American world and Asian strategy, Japan is the most powerful ally with huge potential and south Korea is a "vital operational zone" aimed at the socialist camp. Acknowledging the importance of using Japanese potentiality, the U.S. pushed for the restoration of Japan's militaristic forces and financial combines. The U.S. ruling circles have attempted to make south Korea a military base.

(To be continued)

Young Christians Council Charges U.S. with Nuclear Base

The South Korean Young Christians Council in its peace declaration expressed their indignation at the United States who has turned south Korea into a nuclear bases, the July issue of the Japanese magazine "Sekai" said.

The declaration says: "The Reagan administration is making haste with the militarization of the U.S. industries under the pretext of 'delivering' the U.S. economy from the depression caused by its structure and planning to deploy more nuclear weapons in south Korea, taking advantage of the weak points of the military 'regime'."

Pointing out that the United States is revealing its big power chauvinistic view that "a small nation" may be reduced to a nuclear test ground for U.S. military strategy and the United States is committing such barbarism as ignoring the lives of "the people of a small nation," the young Christians' delcaration says: "This is high time the deceptive 'security argument' for camouflaging the domination of outside forces was refuted and voices were lifted up for peace."

"We oppose the deployment in south Korea of nuclear weapons threatening the lives of fellow countrymen", it added.

Some Observations on Gen. Ershad's Visit to Seoul

By Prof. Hayat Hussain

Here is an article recently contributed by Prof. Hayat Hussain of department of history, Chittagong University, Bangladesh, to The People's Korea:

The day after President Erchad delivered his written speech before the US Chamber of Commerce during his US visit in early 1983 there was a reminder or fresh declaration in the front page of all Bangladesh newspapers that any criticism or comment against the Chief Martial Law Administrator was punishable under ML Regulations. The local authorities could easily sense the expected reaction.

The announcement did shut the mouth of so many (some statements, however, came out in newspapers) but could not help anyone from feeling so lowly with a wounded pride of nationality.

The case of Bangladesh was placed like a beggar and the US glorified to Olympian heights.

It also appeared to us as if we sent our President to the US for conveying our gratitude to them for opposing our independence in 1971.

There is also no denying the fact that after independence no other Government in Bangladesh followed so faithfully the dictates of the White House whether it is in the field of economics or politics.

The previous Governments in Bangladesh tried, as far as possible, to take a reasonable stand on foreign policy matters and never threw the country completely into the hands of any big power.

Unfortunately, the picture is very different today and from this background if we analyse President Ershad's visit to South Korea it should be no surprise to any of us. The 5-day visit took place in the third week of June 1985. Incidentally, this is the first ever visit to South Korea by a head of the state from Bangladesh and President Ershad's former foreign minister, Mr. Shamsuddaha was decorated by President Chon Du Hwan of South Korea a couple of years back during the latter's visit to South Korea.

This is how the two Governments began to come closer.

But the hard fact about South Korea is that it is one of those unfortunate countries, also called a US lackey, where forty thousand US troops are permanently stationed thus seriously curtailing its independence and sovereignty.

S. Korea Placed under US Economic & Military Control

Infact, the US troops which entered the soil of South Korea in 1945 and in keeping with the MacArthur Proclamation set up a military Government office there reign supreme till today as a superintending authority over the whole area. These troops are also there to thwart chances of reunification of the two Koreas and check communist advances in the south.

For all practical purposes the commander of the US Army in South Korea is the commander of the US-South Korea combined forces command. The "Agreement on Transfer of Supreme Prerogative", also known as Taejon Agreement, concluded in 1950 and the "Protocol on South Korea – US Talks" in 1954 gave US the full rights to operational command and to decide the scale of armed forces and equipment for South Korea.

This was confirmed once again in 1978. So, miserable was the condition of South Korea that after his resignation as the South Korean ambassador to the US, Mr. Ryang Yu Chan, lamented "now the United States have placed all our weapons under its control. In addition, our gasoline consumption is under US control. It supplies only a part of it.

Under this condition no one can

mobilize the national defense forces at his will without US consent."– (South Korean newspaper "Daejon Daily News," August 16, 1978.)

Commenting on the economic side another South Korean newspaper" Hanguk Ilbo" wrote in its July 2, 1963 issue "The South Korea-US Economic Cooperation Committee maps out the main policy and line of the South Korean economy and discusses all its financial and industrial plans before hand.

In this course, the US side takes part in the compilation of the Government budget and keeps an unlimited and continuous watch on and exercises the right to advise the whole process of enforcing economic policy".

Economic exploitaion of the developing nations by the imperialist powers is not a new story and in the case of South Korea the United States has plundered not less than 120 billion dollars, ten times bigger than the total sum of the "aid" it has given to South Korea since 1945.

Owing to the US policy of economic subjugation to South Korean economy could never develop the necessary infrastructure and stand on its own feet although outwardly it appears to be so buoyant and healthy. The country is now handicapped by a foreign debt of about forty billion dollars and has to import more than 8 million tons of grain a year.

It is true that in South Korea, as in all other capitalist or semi-capitalist countries, some glittering developments did take place in certain metropolitan centres but all these wealths are concentrated in the hands of a small class of imperialist-blessed business magnets while the great majority of the people live below the poverty line.

According to reliable statistics about four million prostitutes are engaged in flesh trade throughout South Korea to earn their living and about the same number of children are deprived from education for want of economic backing.

To judge the prosperity or per-capita income of a nation simply by dividing its national income by its population, as is the standard practice, is deceptive and misleading and behind this false facade of prosperity lies the ugly reality of poverty and starvation– the ominous result of class exploitation. That is why the bizarre economy of Kuwait, the oil rich Gulf state, would once present a dilemma to the students of economics when they would come to learn that with the highest per-capita income it was one of the poorest nations in the world.

In other words all its wealth was possessed by a few Sheiks while the commeners would find it difficult even to purchase a glass of water to drink.

The growth rate and per-capita income in both North and South Korea are about the same but in reality the two countries give a very different picture.

By the formula mentioned above the per-capita income in South Korea may be even higher but the actual per-capita consumption in North Korea is much higher.

Inspite of higher national income in South Korea where wealth is possessed by a handful of fortunate people, the great majority cannot afford even one full meal while in North Korea food or for that matter resources are more or less evenly distributed to the people in accordance with their socialist principles.

There is no rich class and no poor class there and, therefore, the co-existence of poverty and rich side by side, as may be seen in South Korea, is not to be found in the North. Anyone dying from starvation or without treatment is unheard of and prostitution unthinkable. School education is free for all children and no one has to pay income tax. So which is a more prosperous nation?

Which society is more happy and healthy and which should be a model for us?

The late President of Bangladesh Ziaur Rahman preferred to visit the Northern part in 1980.

Chon Du Hwan, Veteran of Vietnam War, Illegally Seized Power

Only a year before that, in 1979, as a result of palace intrique, Gen. Chon Du Hwan seized power in Korea. A hot favourite of the Americans, Chon Du Hwan, who had his training twice in America ultimately became the President of Korea and is still in power.

Chun Du Hwan is also a veteran of the Vietnam war and, in fact, it was there that he earned great confidence of his US masters.

He was leading the 29th regiment of the "White Horse Unit" of the South Korean puppet army and slaughtered over 320 South Vietnamese people in the "Humchu Clean-up Operation" alone in 1971.

At an easter day party held in Saigon in 1971 he is reported to have said "we should examine and train ourselves on this land and learn how to sacrifice ourselves as the brave sons of Korea."

A senior official of the US Army Assistance Group Mr. Wickham who was present there was so pleased that he encouraged him to "achieve greater feats."

So it was not for nothing that shortly before Chon Du Hwan seized power in South Korea Wickham was appointed commander of the US troops in South Korea in July 1979.

With his green signal Chon Du Hwan mobilised fifty thousand army men and more than 100 tanks to suddenly attack the Army Head Quarters and the "Ministry of National Defense" and arrest and kill over 40 high ranking officers including Chong Sung Hwa, the Martial Law Commander.

This operation called the "Army Purge Coup of December 12, 1979" paved the way for his full power and shortly after a fascist rampage was started throught the country with large scale arrest of student and political leaders including Kim Dae Jung who ultimately was external from the country.

President Zia was inspired by North Korea and today President Ershad is being inspired by the South Korean system. Surprisingly, it is the individual will of the President that seems to decide everything in a country like ours' and people have no say on such matters.

A television interview of Gen. Ershad by Fazle Lohani in 1983 in which he praised Taiwan and South Korea turned out to be so embarassing for him as well as our foreign office that the whole programme had to be re-broadcast with those two names deleted.

It must have offended China and North Korea which have good relations with Bangladesh. But this time President Ershad has come out boldly to tie his hands with Chon Du Hwan.

But President Ershad's remark at the time of his departure for South Korea that the North Korean President should return the visit of President Zia before he is advised to visit them falls short of diplomatic niceties.

President Ershad's invitation has been ignored by the US President Ronald Reagan. Sheik Mujibur Rahman's visit to Russia was never returned because it is not always possible to do so. It is true that all heads of the states enjoy equal diplomatic status no matter how big or small may be the states.

But among all equals there are always some who are more than equal.

President Kim Il Sung of North Korea is the longest living head of the state and has an extra-ordinary revolutionary background.

It was under his leadership that the mercurial North Korean defeated two of the mightiest imperialists, Japan in 1945 and the US in the Korean War of 1950-53.

So Kim Il Sung cannot be compared with Chon Du Hwan or anybody of his like.

It is true that there is great deal of similarity between President Ershad and President Chon Du Hwan but that should not be an important factor in determining state to state relationship between two countries.

Can Not Expect Anything Better from Seoul

President Ershad has given an open call in Seoul asking the South Korean businessmen to invest in joint ventures in Bangladesh and to exploit Bangladesh market.

Unfortunately our experience in joint venture with the Thai fishing companies proved so harmful that the contract had to be terminated. But they continue to plunder our fish in the Bay of Bengal and as we have once opened the floodgate to them our Government now appears to have neither the means nor the wish to stop the pirates while some high ups are making some money through secret collaboration with them.

Can we expect anything better from the South Koreans? In fact, they have already made an inroad into our garment business in the name of joint venture.

Aware of the fact that Bangladesh can even fulfil the quota earmarked for its garments in the EEC market and America the South Korea investors have taken this opportunity to fill the lag. We are only prostituting our land and labour to them.

But the way the Koreans have been conducting their business has already aroused questions as well as resentments in many quarters.

It is also intriguing to note that very recently a leasing company has been floated in Bangladesh the initial control of which will lie with the South Koreans as the highest foreign investor.

So the modus operendi of the company cannot but raise suspicion since the local enterpreneurs will receive necessary loan absolutely on the basis of faith and trust and without providing for any equity.

On scrutiny, however, it will be seen that most of these loanees are already in the defaulters' list with BSB, BSRS and other financial institutions.

So south Korea is already here and may be very soon they will be all over Bangladesh.

But we must not forget that with all their prosperity and which President Ershad wants to take as a model South Korea still has a great majority of people living below the poverty line with about four million prostitute – destitutes and equal number of children out of school.

And on top of it all there are forty thousand US troops sitting permanently on its land as a guarantor of US imperialist interests.

Speeches at International Symposium on the Reunification of Korea And Peace in Asia

Here are excerpts from speeches made by some of the participants of the conference: (Excerpts from their prepared texts)

Korea and the Cold War: Toward a World Historical Perspective

By Gavan McCormack, Professor at La Trobe University (Australia)

The Korean problem is, in a sense, the first product of the Cold War, and Cold War spirit was poured into the two Korean states in a most undiluted form, becoming internalized there to a degree otherwise unparalleled. While the Cold War of the first post-1945 decade remained just that elsewhere in the world, a Cold War, in Korea it was a very hot war, its consequences devastating: three to four million people were killed, a nation was turned into refugees, in the north of the country scarcely a building remained, much of the culture was obliterated. In the three decades since then a huge social and economic transformation has been achieved, on both sides of the Demilitarized Line [DML], but the fundamental reality of division and confrontation remains and is anchored in alliances crucial to the bloc structure in East Asia. The danger of war, more or less diffuse elsewhere in the contemporary Cold War structure, remains sharp and constant in Korea. War in Korea now, however, would be even more devastating than it was thirty years ago: it would almost certainly be nuclear, and would very possibly trigger world-wide nuclear conflict.

If Korea is the first fruit of the Cold War and has suffered most from it, it makes sense to look to Korea for a solution, partial but enormously significant as it would be, to the Cold War as a whole. For non-Koreans the Korean struggle for national unification is important not only as a great and neglected cause in its own right, but because a realistic strategy for building peace must look not only to bilateral relations between the superpowers but also to the task of dissolving Cold War structures and tensions at strategic focal points like Korea, and to creating in such points counter forces of peace, neutrality, and justice which can first contain, and then roll back, the Cold War on a national, then regional, and finally a world level. If an area of peace, denuclearization, demilitarization, neutrality, can be created at the heart of confrontation in East Asia, why not likewise in Europe, and South East Asia, and elsewhere? If the superpowers wish to pursue their folly, let them do so alone, directly against each other.

The Korean War was the hot centre of the Cold War of the first decade of the 'post-war' era. Though originating as a product of the Cold War, however, war in Korea then served to escalate the Cold War to a new level of intensity, both on the international or interstate level and within states where it became internalized. It is this contribution of the Korean War to the creation of the present world upon which I should like to comment briefly, under the following five heads.

First, in Korea, the ideals of the post-1945 world that had been enshrined in the United Nations were hopelessly compromised. The UN should never have been involved in the first place in Korea, at least not as the defender of the state entrusted to it in 1947 by the United States. It played a frankly partisan role in turning the southern sector into a separate state, despite the best efforts of individual officials strongly opposed to such a step. When the north-south clash began in June 1950 the Secretary-General ignored the Charter provision prohibiting involvement in civil disputes, made no attempt to allow the north to present its case, connived at the distortion of the UN Observer Mission's report on the circumstances preceding the war, and abandoned the neutrality of office to exert blatant pressure within the Security Council to get the war commitment desired by the US. The war then conducted in the name of the UN was itself a gross betrayal of the aspirations towards a civilized world that had been placed in the UN by the world's peoples five years earlier.

Secondly, the conduct of the war was entrusted to a US command, responsible to the US president rather than the UN. It was characterised by acts such as the blasting of dams and the destruction of food crops (crimes against humanity when committed by the Nazis early in 1945), the widespread use of napalm (which Churchill for one found abhorrent), the mass bombing ('strategic' bombing) of cities, towns and villages (630,000 tons of bombs, or more than three times the amount dropped on Japan during the war with Japan, producing deaths among civilians at a rate of between 3 and 6 to one among military personnel, against the World War Two figure of one civilian to one military death,) systematic violence and a series of atrocities by the Rhee regime for which the UN was fighting and a reign of terror in UN-run POW camps which the US and their allies both condoned and attempted to cover-up. Whether bacteriological warfare was employed by the UN forces remains an open question, though there is strong circumstantial reason to think that some, possibly experimental usage of it was made, and, although nuclear and chemical warfare were not used, their use was strongly favoured at the top levels of US military and civil administration, not only by General MacArthur but long after MacArthur's dismissal by President Eisenhower. Since 1953, the UN has never again acted as a combatant in war, but there is no question that its capacity to serve as a forum of peace and truth was gravely diminished in Korea.

This should be enough to underline the fact that historically the Korean problem has extremely broad ramifications and that it was a crucial episode in the foundation of the contemporary world. Here I want to turn to analyse aspects of the present Cold War juncture as they affect or are affected by Korea.

While Korea's location as a focal point of bloc rivalry is of course unchanged in general terms, the confrontation of the blocs in Northeast Asia was undoubtedly modified as a result of the strategic shift by China in the 1970's. But, despite the possibilities for progress on the Korea question that that change might have opened up, and some evidence of a conciliatory attitude and active pursuit of a solution by China, in fact from the late 1970's there has been a gradual intensification of militarization in the Northeast Asian region centring on Korea. The US-Japan and US-South Korea alliances have been consolidated and gradually moulded in the shape of a tripartite alliance, while Japan moves inexorably towards 'great' military power status; the scale of war games in the region has gradually escalated, and the annual 'Team Spirit' exercises around and on the Korean peninsula, which involve over 200,000 men, are the largest military exercises ever held anywhere; South Korea itself remains occupied by US forces, its army commanded by an American general, and its territory host to nuclear fortune through the deployment of something over 600 nuclear weapons of various kinds; and an increasing number of nuclear armed vessels, together with satellite and other forms of surveillance systems, is deployed around Korea.

The implication of this for Korea is that the level of danger it faces has been escalated to the 'n'th degree, where 'n' signifies nuclear. US military authorities have signified their readiness to resort to nuclear first strike in Korea even against an enemy acknowledged to be non-nulcear, and have expressed satisfaction that the complicated restrictions inhibiting nuclear deployment in Europe do not operate in Korea. Most recently, the strategy of 'horizontal escalation' and 'winnable nuclear war' calls for 'retaliatory' strikes against North Korea, without any provocation of any kind but in the event of a clash between US and Soviet forces in the Middle East. The US objective, in such an event, would be to tie up Soviet forces and prevent their concentration attacking Soviet allies such as North Korea or Cuba. The US treaty commitment to the 'defence' of its South Korean ally is here shown in its starkest light: the radiness to plunge the Korean peninsula into a war that would very possibly lead to the annihilation of the Korean people if and when it was thought such action would serve global US interests of no direct relevance to Korea.

But the final perspective I should like to offer is that of the possible implications of such an extraction of Korea from its Cold War nexus for the internal political structures of both Korean states. But have been heavily determined by the circumstances of their creation. The greatest cause of disequilibrium, in my view, has been the initial distortion stemming from US interference and the creation of a counter-revolutionary, US-dependent state. The dissenting democratic movement in South Korea has experienced countless reverses since that initial intervention. The persistent persecution in recent decades of poets, priests, professors, patriotic and progressive politicians, workers and students, is well-known. It will continue till the monopoly of power in the hands of the military can be broken. Despite its many trials it is evident that the movement has continued to grow and mature. Its mass support was convincingly demonstrated by the astonishing success in the February 1985 elections, against all odds and in the teeth of the massive resources of the state apparatus.

U. S.'s Korea Policy

By Harold Hakwon Sunoo, Professor at Central Methodist College (Korean in U.S.A.)

For a number of reasons, neither the Soviet Union nor China will be willing to tolerate a Korea unified under a hostile power just as the U.S. is not willing to allow an anti-U.S. Korean regime there. Korea is an inherent geopolitical important region to the Soviet Union as well as China. Specially to the Soviet Union, Korea is the only place in the Asia-Pacific region where the interests of the four major powers: the U.S., Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, come into direct conflict. Furthermore, only in South Korea, the U.S. troops and nuclear war heads are deployed aiming at the Soviet on the Asian continent.

The U.S. Korea policy has, meanwhile, firmly established to challenge North Korea and her allies. Particularly in the past few years under the Reagan's new policy, it has been clearly demonstrated: forcefully reaffirmed its defense commitment to Korea, including its nuclear umbrella; cancelled plans to withdraw U.S. ground force and moved to strengthen the U.S. military presence both quantitatively and qualitatively; maintained a forward deployment strategy to underline its commitment to ROK's defense; increased support for South Korea's military assistance, including appropriate sophisticated technology, advanced equipment sales, and improved Foreign Military Sales Credits; and broadened the range of security-related economic concessions.

The present status quo, the division of Korea, serves all these purposes, which are strongly against the aspiration of the Korean people for an independent, unified nation. The U.S., thus, became a major obstacle force for unification of Korea. Some of the most crucial American misperceptions have managed to persist over very long periods of time in spite of the mechanism of potential self-correction which seems to operate much more effectively in the U.S.

The United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union should help Korea become united as one nation again and preserve peace in the peninsula. The fact of competition between the United States and the Soviet Union in Korea has had a profound effect not only on Korea, but also on broader U.S.-USSR relations. It is common sense that the annual U.S.-South Korean military maneuver – Team Spirit, is not going to preserve peace and stabilize Korea for her development, nor will it protect American interests there. Increased militarization of both South and North Korea has had difficult economic consequences. They are spending large amounts of money on armaments, thus limiting the resources available for economic development. Advancement in society is through the military, thus diverting a great deal of talent.

President Reagan should consider involving the Soviet Union as a partner in the solution of Korean problems. He should formulate his policy toward the Korean peninsula on a regional basis, taking care not to view Korea solely in East-West terms. Furthermore, President Reagan should maintain American identification with democratic values and continue to have relations with the national leaders including the opposition leaders of the existing regimes. He should also avoid becoming the exclusive provider of military and economic aid to Third World countries, but participate in more multilateral aid programs.

What needs to be done in Korea is to soften the hardened perceptions which are based on narrow conviction and used for information shaping, and which are, furthermore, major obstacles to political progress.

Some Thoughts on the Reunification of Korea

By Bruce Cumings, Professor, School of International Studies, University of Washington (U.S.A.)

Korea was a unified state for more than a millenium and has been divided for a mere four decades. This fact of overriding importance makes of the period we live in a mere parenthesis in the long narrative of Korean history, an anomaly that will inevitably pass from the scene. Why, therefore, does Korea remain divided? And what can be done to reconcile the two Korean states?

When we ask why Korea remains divided, many answers tumble forth; it is necessary to arrange a hierarchy of more and less important answers. One answer is to begin at the beginning, to ask why Korea was divided in the first place. The answer here is provided by numerous declassified archival documents, which make clear that in 1945 the hand that divided Korea was an American hand. How can this be said? Because the decision to divide Korea in August 1945 was an American decision, taken with no allied consultation. It was done because the U.S. wanted to occupy Korea as far north as possible, thus to staunch the southward flow of Soviet troops; because the security of Korea had already been linked to the security of postwar Japan; and because of American and Japanese opposition to the indigenous assertion of Korean political power on the peninsula.

The Soviet Union acquiesced in, and did not challenge, this decision. So, although the record is bereft of any written Soviet agreement to the partition, it has a joint authorship. But it remains historically accurate to say that one author has prior place and prior responsibility, the United States.

An elite of southern conservatives also acquiesced in this decision, in the last months of 1945, because its political and economic survival depended on an alliance with American power. Thus there is a measure of responsibility for the division, especially for hardening it, on the part of the southern leadership.

So, we now have a hierarchy of answers to the question, who divided Korea and why, with corresponding degrees of responsibility. In 1985, does this still make a difference?

It does make a difference. The original responsibility for the national division was greatest for the U.S., but, nonetheless, a responsibility shared with the Soviet Union. Yet today, the U.S. is the only great power that keeps masses of troops and nuclear weapons on Korean soil, it directly commands the southern army, and it maintains a Korea policy that has hardly changed since the end of the Korean War in its fundamental asumptions.

So, to the extent that great powers have a role in resolving the division of Korea, the responsibility and the initiative clearly rests with the U.S., which has persisted in an anachronistic strategic commitment to South Korea, and refuses to add Korean corollaries to the vast changes that have occured in Northeast Asia in the past quarter-century (the Sino-Soviet conflict, Sino-American rapprochement, the return to industrial eminence of Japan).

What Can Be Done to Reconcile the Two Korean States?

The answer to this question, of course, depends on whether one emphasizes the relative stasis, or the significant change, in the Korean situation since the 1940s.

It is only when the breakwaters seem to rearrange themselves that one can hope for significant change.

In 1971-72, the two Koreas were forced to watch as two other breakwaters shifted: the guarantors of the two Korean states accomplished a significant detente, thus diminishing Chinese and American backing for Pyongyang and Seoul. Changes followed quickly upon this watershed: the successful withdrawal of a division of American troops from the South, a sharp change in North Korea's outward orientation (toward the Third World and the West and away from the communist bloc), and above all the North-South talks and the July 4, 1972 joint communique on peaceful reunification. Although each of these changes ran around, much was still accomplished. Anyone who surveys the record of the early 1970s will know how quickly structural changes in its environment have refractory effect inside Korea itself.

So, some breakwaters have been removed over the past four decades. In the 1980s another structural change is ongoing, which is likely to have at least as great an effect on the two Korean states. The early 1970s witnessed changes in Korea's environment that were mainly strategic and military:

But in the 1980s, the strategic and military shifts are being underpinned by economic realignments that, in my view, are even more important. For the first time since the 1940s it is possible to say that a divided Korea runs against the economic interests of the U.S. and its allies, and that developing economic relationships in East Asia lack a stable political basis only in Korea.

In broad terms we may say that a complementary set of economic relationships has emerged in East Asia. From the capitalist perspective, the U.S., Japan, the East Asian Newly-Industrializing Countries (NICs), and China have complementary positions in terms of comparative advantage and the product cycle. An international division of labor including all these countries has emerged in spite of strategic and political obstacles (such as the U.S. treaty with Taiwan or Britain's colonial relationship with Hong Kong, not to mention the socialist structure of People's China).

The point is that for at least a decade economic change has been pulling political change in its wake; as the economic breakwaters shift, they send waves crashing against seemingly intractable strategic and military barriers. Already these waves crash on Korean shores.

During President Reagan's visit to China in April 1984 the question of talks with North Korea again came up, but administration infighting on the question prevented any agreement. The North Korean proposal for tripartite talks is nearly identical to one Jimmy Carter made in June 1979, but the Carter proposal was unfortunately coupled with the announcement of the permanent suspension of American troop withdrawals from South Korea, making it inevitable that the North Koreans would be forced to reject it. The logic of three-way talks is clear: no Soviet troops have occupied North Korea since 1948, no Chinese troops since 1958, and neither maintain nuclear weapons; only the U.S. does so and therefore the initiative clearly belongs with the Americans.

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

Korea in the Making of the New World

Anouar Abdel-Malek (Egypt)

The most obvious result of the peaceful reunification of Korea will be to stabilize a peace situation in Asia, especially Central, South, North-East and East Asia, as well as the North Pacific area – i.e. to put an end to one of the seven "circles of fire". It is important to note in this respect that the specific geo-historical characteristics of this area – as hereabove explained – are now strengthened by a series of more immediate powerful influences:

First and foremost, the intense and earnest wish and aspiration of the Korean nation and people for reunification, in the two States of Korea on the two sides of the partition line. The importance of this factor – central to all and any analysis of, and about, Korea – lies deep in the very ancient history of the Korean nation. For only a nation with such a depth of the historical field can heal the wounds of a terrible intra- and inter-national war, as witness the present climate of conversations between the two States of Korea. There are of course more direct factors, essentially the powerful drive towards independence, national modernization and social progress in democracy, in both parts of Korea, albeit with different coefficients of political weight and efficacy. The reunification of Korea would thus introduce a major new factor in Asia, as well as in the world scene, in the domains of science, technologies, industry, and, no doubt, international politics. It is only too natural for a nation as ancient and a people as proud as the Korean nation and people to reassert its central place in the emerging new world, a matter which deeply rejoices all independent, democratic and progressive forces of the world, and specifically so the movement of non-aligned countries.

The direct national interests of both China and Japan are here intertwining in a rather exceptional manner. On the Chinese side, a democratic, reunified, and economically advanced Korea is of great importance, both in helping shoulder the burdens of rapid national modernization, in the multi-sectoral economic policy now advancing in China, as well as in helping its Southern neighbour, Vietnam, towards more realistic policies. For Japan, the reunification of Korea, which will make of it a powerful competitor in the technological and economic spheres, is bound to help shoulder the immense tasks of acting as the leading factor in the national modernization of China, and more so in the development of Soviet Asia, and particularly so Siberia. To which should be added the peace and security aspects: the elimination of the nuclear menace in Korea will come as a blessing for Japan essentially, and a relief for Central Tokyo time when these two major countries of the Asia-Pacific area are converging towards the cristallisation of the major third world center of influence in our times.

For the USSR, the advantages are immense. The lessening of military tension on its Pacific frontiers, as well as the elimination of the nuclear menace, to be sure. But perhaps more so, the capacity of the new reunified Korea, to act jointly with Japan more rapidly towards the accelerated development of Soviet Asia and Siberia, a task which Japan is bound to consider as second to its primary objective of being the leading factor in the national modernization of China, as well as of major crucial areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. One other dimension lies in the lessening of tensions with Japan, and the new imputus which will thus be given to the normalization, at both State and Party levels, with China.

To these key factors should be added the acquiescence of the USA, provided it could be reassured about the non-alignment of the new unified Korea. In this domain, however, the motivations are clearly weaker than in the above four cases.

Finally, last but not least, the reunification of Korea, the emergence of a powerful new unified, democratic and modernized Korea, will play a direct role in the national modernization processes at work in the group of non-aligned countries, with whom both States of Korea are presently implementing very active political and economic relations, bound to grow immensely in the very near future, immediately after the peaceful reunification of Korea.

A closer look at the above set of motivations will show a second, perhaps more important, dimension of the direct impact of the reunification of Korea on world politics. In a word: the peaceful reunification of Korea, and the emergence of a new and powerful unified democratic Korea will play a central role in accelerating the process of objective rapprochement and togetherness between China, the USSR and Japan, all of which are today deeply and organically linked, both with the European mainland and with the key geo-cultural dynamic areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America (the so-called "Third World"). By making possible this convergence, the peaceful reunification of Korea will accelerate the present process of cristallisation of the Eurasian land mass – this time centering essentially around Asia, while giving a wider leaway for independent initiatives by the two sectors of Europe, essentially West Europe.

One other direct impact of the peaceful reunification of Korea will be to show the path towards the peaceful solution of two types of problems:

Simultaneously, the peaceful reunification of Korea and the emergence of a powerful new democratic Korea will have a direct impact on the present deadlock in South-East Asia.

The peaceful reunification of Korea and the emergence of a strong, democratic and powerful unified Korean state will thus play a central role in neutralising the war danger. It will strengthen the peace forces in the USA, and compel it in the new contendere to reassess their purported "global reach" more realistically. The choice that will be for the USA to assume either the role of a major partner to the Asian-Pacific area – centering around the China – Japan third centre of world influence, while the mediation of Korea – or to refuse this role, and entrench itself in an isolationist policy. This will be difficult to achieve. If the growing autonomous initiatives of Western Europe keep developing – at they are bound to do, the inevitable primacy of the political, the centrality of Realpolitik of political realism, will strengthen the positive factors in the USA, albeit in the middle and long ranges, owing to the prevalent present political ethos under the Reagan presidency.

The combined effect of the above series of influences can be summed up in a nutshell: the peaceful reunification of Korea and the emergence of a new, independent, demographic and powerful new Korea will mean, objectively, that the 1945 Yalta world balance, and the division of the world into power blocks, enters its end.

That the end of the Yalta bi-polar historical stage would be welcome, or welcomed, is a matter to be pondered. To be sure, powerful forces are now entrenched that will not see such a process favourably. Yet, one can discern the rise of new central leadership course – in China, the USSR, Japan – tomor-

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Ailing Economy

Following is an excerpt from an article carried by The Asian Wall Street Journal (July 5-July 6, 1985) on South Korea's ailing economy:

SEOUL – As troubles deepen in the South Korean economy, Lee Hun-Jo says he's traveling more than before.

Mr. Lee, president of Lucky-Goldstar Group's trading company, flew to Frankfurt recently for a meeting with his branch managers in Europe, where sales have been poor. He told the staff to stop trying to market in Europe the way they do in the U.S., where the emphasis is on huge orders and payments in dollars. Mr. Lee says he told his people to learn how to deal with different currencies and go after smaller orders.

The Lucky-Goldstar president is trying to cope with one of the biggest of the problems that's plaguing the South Korean economy: Export performance hasn't met expectations. During the first half of the year, South Korea's exports dipped 4%, to $13.3 billion, compared with the same period last year, according to preliminary figures released this week by the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Political Uncertainty

No one sees prospects of an immediate turnaround. Local demand is down for many industries, and the government is loath to increase its indebtedness or lose control of inflation with a dose of domestic spending. In addition, Koreans face rising political uncertainty and labor activism.

Protectionism in the U.S. and Europe is on the rise, these people argue, at a time when other countries are challenging South Korea's basic industries as never before. Countries with lower wages, such as China, are working hard to become export powers, while advanced countries have grown more competitive by injecting more sophisticated machinery, such as robots and computers, into textiles and other industries.

'No Magic Way Out'

"I'm a little bit concerned not only about what will happen this year, but next year," says Suh Sang-Mok, vice president of the Korea Development Institute. "There's no area which isn't tough. The only answer is to try harder. There's no magic way out of this."

In 1981 and 1982, the last time Seoul faced a serious stagnation in exports, planners had a solution: Fuel the economy's growth by increasing spending on domestic construction and infrastructure. The country borrowed from abroad, sending the current account deeper into deficit. But that was before the world debt crisis. Now, with international financial markets still jittery and South Korea already the world's No. 4 debtor, policy makers are reluctant to pursue this strategy again.

Bitter Medicine

A nongovernment economist says planners are recognizing "external constraints." He says: "If you want to maintain the credit-worthiness of Korea, you have to accept lower growth."

This is bitter medicine for business, which has been crying for the government to stimulate the domestic economy to get them through the rough time they're worth exports. Although the government has made credit easier to obtain recently, business isn't satisfied. Figures aren't available, but government experts and businessmen in several of South Korea's business conglomerates say investment has slowed in new projects. 'No business, including Hyundai, is going to expand investments at this stage," says Chung Moon-Doh, chairman of Hyundai Corp., the group's trading arm.

Ungsuh K. Park, vice president of Samsung Electronics Co., says things are "exceptionally bad" at the moment. "I think the government would come to its senses and somehow practice balanced economic management. We're not asking for anything inflationary. We want the government to boost locally a few markets, particularly depressed industries."

Slipping Industries

These days, there are more depressed industries than upbeat ones. Shipbuilding, a strong performer as recently as last year, has slipped, along with textiles, footwear, machinery and metals. A textile industry executive says the trouble isn't reflected only in slumping sales volumes. In good times, when demand is high, companies charge export customers extra fees to fill orders for quota-controlled items. (Many categories of clothing exports are limited by quota arrangements negotiated among countries.) These days, it's impossible to charge these "quota premiums," the executive says.

Automobiles and electronics parts are more promising, but as a senior government official says, "even in these areas things aren't that bright."

A well-connected businessman at one of the big conglomerates puts it this way: "You talk to guys inside the auto companies, and they say there are signs of weak domestic demand." The reason: Companies aren't expanding and adding to their corporate fleets of cars, he says.

Part of the problem is that there are more competitors than ever for labor-intensive light industries. Southeast Asian countries and China are in hot pursuit of South Korea's markets. Lee Hahn-Koo, assistant to the Daewoo Group's chairman, Kim Woo-Choong, says China is a serious threat in textiles and other simple manufactured goods. "They are chasing us just as we did Japan in the past 10 or 20 years," he says.

Dependence on U.S.

Another reason for concern is that South Korea is becoming increasingly dependent on the U.S. market. Last year, 36% of Korean exports went to the U.S., the Ministry of Trade and Industry says, the highest rate of the past decade. For the first four months of this year, the figure was 38%, according to statistics from the Economic Planning Board.

Workers have been increasingly agitating for higher wages at a time when businessmen say Korean products are losing their price advantage because labor costs are rising. Mr. Lee of Daewoo, which several months ago had a strike at its auto company, says that workers no longer are willing to accept a company's plea to hold onto its profits as a hedge against hard times. Korean companies must do this, he argues, because they typically operate with high levels of debt compared with assets.

And then there is political uncertainty. Opposition and government party politicians appear headed for a confrontation over who will succeed President Chun Doo Hwan in 1988, and businessmen and some government officials are worrying aloud about the effects on the economy. Already some of these people are arguing that the investment slowdown results in part from such uncertainty.

Mr. Lee of Daewoo says the uncertainty cuts across all lines, reaching from factory workers to high-ranking managers. "In a changeable and unstable society, nobody wants to stay in one position. For companies, if employees don't have a stable attitude, there's no way to increase productivity and meet export demands."

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It is quite clear to me, if not to policymakers in Washington, that North Korea has been ready to join in Sino-American detente since the early 1970s. It has also sharply skewed its foreign economic policies away from stark autarky. When the Carter administration came in, the North Koreans sought to cultivate liberals and pro-China elements in the U.S., and stated repeatedly to Americans (such as this writer) that they wished to be a party to Sino-American detente. In the past few years exports have been promoted, and in September 1984 a joint venture law was promulgated. The most encouraging sign is Pyongyang's agreement to an unprecedented set of North-South economic exchange talks, begun in November 1984 and then continued in May 1985.

Recent changes in northern and southern economic policies would seem, therefore, to confirm our idea that economic shifts in East Asia can cross and eventually undermine the political and strategic breakwaters that, just a few years ago, seemed so permanent and impermeable. The best hope for Korean reunification is to continue and deepen this trend.

As stated earlier, the United States is the great power most directly concerned with, and most responsible for, the continuing division of Korea. For the first time in a generation, it is possible to discern a positive American interest in reunification (which does not mean that anyone in Washington has necessarily understood this). The U.S. achieved its biggest diplomatic victory since the 1940s in opening a strong relationship with China in the 1970s. The economic reorientation of China, although done at Chinese initiative, is perhaps an even bigger victory. No other socialist state has innovated market principles and joint relationships with capitalist countries and firms in the Chinese manner. It is vital to American interests to continue this orientation. Yet North Korea, China's last, best socialist ally, is a direct obstacle to these evolving relationships unless it is included in Sino-American detente. China clearly wants, and can benefit from, wide-ranging economic relations with South Korea. Yet a divided Korea is the major obstacle to such an evolution.

As an American, though, I remain conscious of how much the U.S. could do, and how little it is doing, to promote reconciliation and reunification in Korea. The fact is that the U.S. remains a positive obstacle to strategic, political and economic change on the Korean peninsula. How long can the obstructionism and the myopia last? In the mid-1980s there is a golden opportunity for an enlightened and magnanimous American diplomacy to achieve good relations with Japan, China, and both Korean states all at the same time, a goal that would have seemed utopian a mere decade ago.

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row in a reunified Korea, which will render this hypothesis more acceptable in the short range. After all, peace at a price is worth an effort. Except for the apostles of the nuclear holocaust, now more and more isolated in their Star War's dreams.

By overcoming the terrible consequences of the Korean War, through a process of peaceful and democratic reunification, Korea, in the heartland of one of the two major circles of the Orient will signalize to all that historical initiative in our times is infact more and more in the hands of the major Oriental nations and cultures, as of their wider civilizational and powerful living traditions and philosophies. Contradictions are the very essence of human and societal existence, and are therefore bound to exist permanently. While at the same time reaching for higher, more rational, more humane levels of actualization, through a lucid orientation of their social dialectics, and the acceptence of symbiotic philosophies and the ethos of consensus, of national unity, of social dialectics geared towards complementarity, in lieu and place of the inevitable implosion and explosion, should one allow them to go untamed.

Such are the lessons – such is the historical significance of the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea in our times.

"Time, the refreshing river . . ."

(Continued from page 1)

session, Anatol Rapoport, professor emeritus of University of Toronto, stressed the tremendous impact that the emergence of a unified and neutralized Korea would have on the present state of world politics. **(See speeches of some participants on pages 6 and 7)**

A head of the DPRK delegation Kim Chang Won, director of the Institure of Philosophy at the Academy of Social Science, stressed the need to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

Bruce Cumings, professor of School of International Studies at University of Washington, said the major responsibility of the division of Korea rests with the United States and a divided Korea runs against the economic interests of the U.S. and its allies.

"For the first time in a generation, it is possible to discern a positive American interest in reunification," he said in his prepared text.

Harold Kakwon Sunoo, a professor at Central Methodist College, urged the United States, China, Japan and the Soviet to help Korea become united as one nation again and preserve peace in the peninsula.

An Egyptian professor at the National Center of Scientific Research in Paris, Anouar Abdel-Malek, said, "The reunification of Korea would thus introduce a major new factor in Asia, as well as in the world scene, in the domains of science, technologies, industry, and, no doubt, international politics."

They discussed on the following subjects: "Reduction of Tension on the Korean Peninsula and Its Peaceful Reunification – History and Prospect"; "Korea in Relation to Peace and Development in the Asia-Pacific Region – The Terms of Disarmament"; and "The Significance of Korean Reunification from the Point of View of Global Development."

Touching on the significance of a neutral reunified Korea, Li Myong Ho, a professor of law at the Academy of Social Science, said that a neutral Korea would not pose any threat to the neighboring countries, including Japan, and that the reunification of Korea would have a tremendous impact on East-West relations, serving to relax global tensions.

During the three-day conference the participants, despite differences of views in other respects, agreed that the division of Korea runs counter to the interests of the powers in the region and that the reunification of Korea holds the key to world peace and security.

A statement published at the end of the conference said: "In accordance with the principle of national self-determination, the Korean people themselves, engaged in their own peaceful north-south dialogue, must play the main role in achieving reunification. It is the responsibility of the international community, however, to create a peaceful environment favorable to the success of their efforts. The wisdom of the world needs to be directed at this problem."

"The participants," the statement said, "affirmed their determination to continue their efforts to expand and strengthen networks of cooperation for the sake of reunification of Korea and the peace and development of Asia and the whole world."

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